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THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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Editor:

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THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAVIA is the land of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Serbs belong to the Orthodox Church as a people whereas the other two are prevalingly Catholic (of the Roman rite), there are also some 800,000 Mohammedans.

On the one hand the recent visit of Marshal Tito to this country, and on the other Pope Pius XII's action in elevating to the rank of a prince of the Church Archbishop Stepinac, have brought before the public the question of the condition of Christians in the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia. The policy of the *E.C.Q.* is to try and judge of events in their true perspective, to let the smoke of controversy or criticism clear away, and then to make our comment.

By this time Catholics have come to expect the authorities of the Orthodox Church to take one line in questions of Church and State and the Catholic Church to take another, though both are the outcome of Christian principles, which are often not fully appreciated by either side. This we think is especially the case in Yugoslavia where in many ways the traditions of the East and West meet. Hence we think it is necessary to give some space to a consideration of the present position in this matter.

The general line of Roman policy, to resist the unjust demands of the State and to insist, if there is to be an agreement, that certain liberties are conceded, is exemplified in the person of Cardinal Stepinac. We are not here going to treat of the cardinal's case in detail; this can be studied in a series of articles in *The Tablet* and in a booklet by Michael Derrick *Tito and the Catholic Church* (for both see below).

There is one indictment brought against Archbishop Stepinac, however, which must be considered here. The

archbishop was accused of organizing 'the rebaptism of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Catholic faith'.

Archbishop Stepinac in his speech at his trial, 2nd October 1946, said: 'you accuse me of having re-baptized Serbs into the Catholic Church. But you use the wrong word, for he who has been baptized once need not be re-baptized. What you accuse me of is not the re-baptism of Serbs but of having caused the conversion of Serbs to the Catholic Church. I shall lose no words on this matter, but only repeat that my conscience is at peace.' This needs some explanation.

In 1941, immediately after the collapse of organized Yugoslav resistance to the Germans, the Pavelic Government issued a decree declaring that the Orthodox Church in Croatia was suppressed and that its members must become Latin Catholics. Archbishop Stepinac at once (8th May 1941), sent an *ad clerum* to the priests of his diocese, warning them that they must strictly observe the provisions of canon law in receiving converts into the Church.

On 14th May, in a letter to Pavelic, he denounced the execution without trial, at Glina, of 260 Orthodox Serbs. On 22nd May he wrote to the Minister of the Interior in the Pavelic Government, denouncing the treatment of the Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

The hierarchy met in December and on the 17th of the month the archbishop wrote to Pavelic to inform him of the position of the bishops. 'The solution of all questions regarding the conversion of dissidents is in the exclusive competence of the hierarchy. Only those could be received into the Church who, without being subjected to force of of any kind, might be converted of their own free will, after having become convinced in their own mind that the Catholic Church is the only true Church. All illegal procedures against the personal liberty and against the property rights of dissidents should be vigorously prohibited.'

It had now become clear that the archbishop was faced with a terrible dilemma. The State was massacring wholesale those Orthodox who would not make profession of Catholicism. Either the archbishop had to relax the canonical rules concerning reception into the Catholic Church, or he had to leave these many victims to their fate. He chose the former course. In his *ad clerum* of 2nd March 1942, he said, 'anyone embracing the Catholic religion must do so with a pure intention having faith in the truth of Catholicism: such

must be the first and essential motive in conversion. If there are other secondary motives, if they have not the character of sin, they will not be an obstacle.'

Father Crokovic, a witness at the archbishop's trial, declared: 'I know that replies to the pleas of those who were demanding admission into the Catholic Church were not given on the spot, and I remember that those concerned came weeping to ask that the decision might be hurried, so as to save their lives. If we had not acted as we did, we could be reproached to-day for having refused to succour that desperate mass of people when we were able to do so.'

It has been argued that the archbishop should not have called formally on Pavelic, as he did, or exercise his office in relations with his government. Two things should be remembered. First it is the canonical duty of a bishop to remain with his people. Second, if the archbishop had made a real break with the régime and retired he would have been unable to do the immense work he did for the relief of suffering.

This fact suggests that the archbishop would also be ready now to co-operate with the existing state authority. As a matter of fact in June 1945, Archbishop Stepinac was the honoured guest of the régime on the occasion of the celebrations at Zagreb of the establishment of the 'People's Government' in Croatia. It was the outspoken pastoral letter [condemning the indiscriminate killing of Catholic priests, etc., see *The Tablet*, 3rd January 1953] of the bishops, published in September of the same year, and read in all the Churches that was the cause of Marshal Tito calling the archbishop a traitor and his subsequent arrest.

To-day relations with the Holy See are severed. It is to be hoped that in time closer contact with the West may bring Marshal Tito to see in Cardinal Stepinac a true Croat champion as well as a Christian leader, and on consideration to discover that the Holy See is not playing a diplomatic hand for Italy. The expression of feeling concerning the welfare of Catholics and Orthodox under the present régime, as shown by the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech and in the memorial presented by the Duke of Norfolk to the Prime Minister, cannot but have some effect on Tito's future policy. The more favourable treatment meted out to the Orthodox is doubtless due to the more pliable line taken by Patriarch Vikentije Prodanov.

To end this comment we will quote from *The Christian East* (Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, Winter 1952-53). Mr Kitson Clark at the end of his 'Note on General Principles', says :—

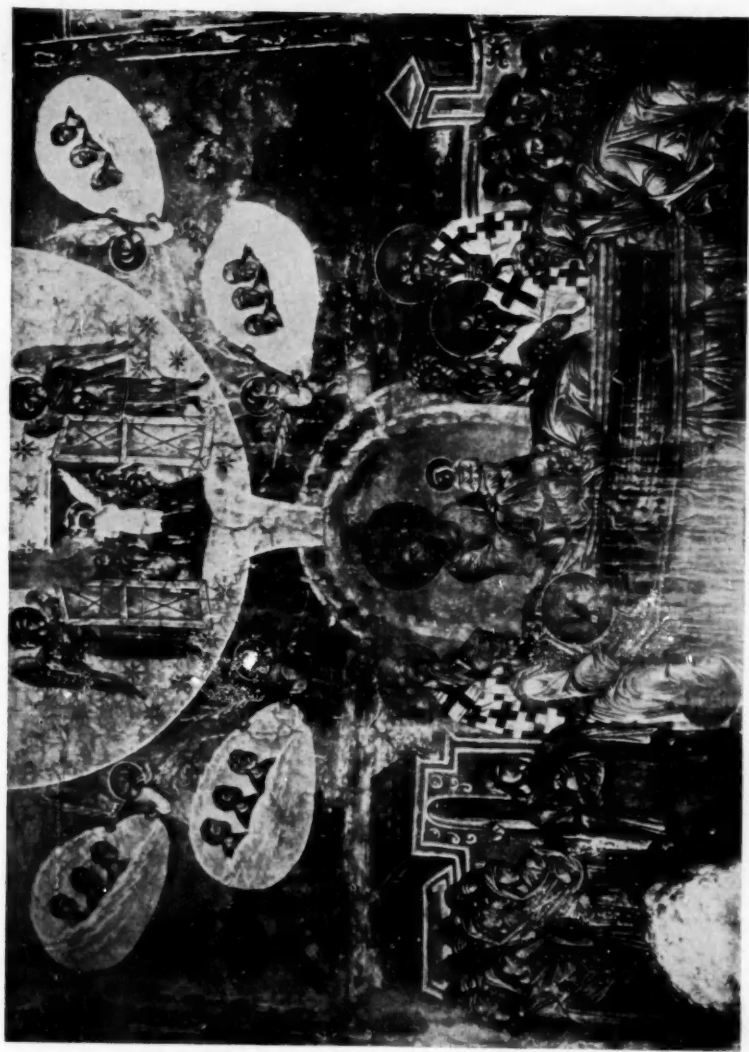
'Perhaps the greatest danger to the morality of the world comes when we cease to call things by their proper names. Persecution, injustice, denial of reasonable civil liberties remain the evil things they are wherever they occur. If, for example, the present government of Yugoslavia is persecuting, or denying justice or spiritual liberty to, the Roman Catholics in Dalmatia or Croatia, it is very important that no man should be led by any political or diplomatic consideration to deny the fact :

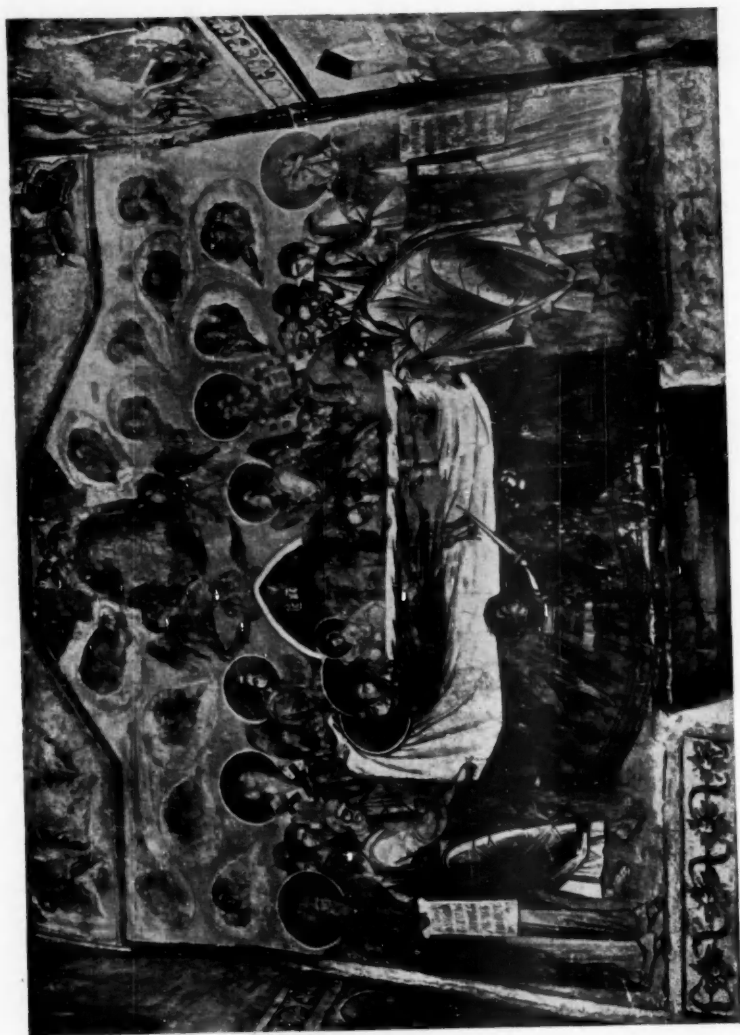
In particular we need to know the facts more fully, and we want a criterion by which to judge them.

Indeed the whole matter would be easier to handle if its theory had been more systematically worked out, particularly in relation to the conditions of the twentieth century. What is needed is careful thought on the problem of what are the minimum conditions which any civilized government ought to concede to the religious bodies within its borders. The subject must be the duties of a civilized, not a Christian, government, since many of the governments of the world are not Christian, and the rules should be universal and not simply a claim of privilege for Christians, still less for the members of any particular Christian denomination. The appeal must be to general principles of natural justice, which the Church may endorse, as it does endorse the natural principles of justice and humanity, but which will be valid for those who are not Christians.'

This view will commend itself to many English people because it is based on liberal presuppositions which they share. It would certainly be a real gain if it could be universally established. It is, however, important in this connection to remind ourselves that the Church claims sovereignty by divine right in supernatural and religious matters, though she can and does establish a *modus vivendi* of one sort or another with secular states. But can one base a claim for even the minimum rights which the Church must require on natural law alone ?

THE EDITOR.





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NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

I

DORMITION OF OUR LADY, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Markov Monastir, Marko's Monastery, near Skoplié, dedicated to St Demeter, a foundation of the Serbian King Vukasin, 1366-71, completed after his death by his son, King Marko.

The frescos are well preserved. The pictures of the donors, King Vukasin and Marko, were overpainted in oils in 1894, by order of the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Skoplié, Maximos, so as to conceal their Serbian origin.

2

DORMITION OF OUR LADY, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The monastery of Polosko, in the region of Bitolj, Monastir; a very old church, dedicated to St George, built in the style of the churches of Ochrida of the period of the conversion of the Serbs to Christianity, about the end of the ninth century.

In the Serbian chronicles the first mention of this monastery is in 1340, when King Dusan gave it, with the villages of Polosko, Dragozel and Kosani, as a present to the monks of the Serbian monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos.

Jephonias is in front of the bed, the Angel with the sword on the left. It is the only Dormition in which our Lord is shown embracing his Mother.

Both photographs are by courtesy of Dr S. SVETA PETROVITCH.

THE GOLGOTHA OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1941—1951

ALL of you, of course, have heard or read in the press about the Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia during the last ten years. I want to give you now a few facts which I, for the most part, either saw or experienced personally.

In April 1941 Hitler began the bombardment of Belgrade. The liturgy was taking place in the church of the Ascension around which explosions were especially strong. During the service before the consecration of the gifts, many of the congregation left. They went down to the proper shelter made in the churchyard. After a few minutes a terrific explosion was heard nearby and after the bombing was over, those who remained in the church went out and saw with horror that the shelter had been completely wiped out by a direct hit. There were no survivors.

A few days later the Hungarian troops entered Novi Sad. Cruel shooting of innocent people began then. This was during Holy Week. All the Orthodox Churches were closed down, a curfew was proclaimed. A little home-church formed, naturally as it were, in the house where I lived. I brought the eikons, the *antimension*, and other church belongings there from the school chapel where I worked as chaplain before the war.

Starting with Holy Thursday we celebrated all the services of the Holy Passion of Our Lord and at twelve o'clock at night we assisted at the Easter mattins. The faithful came secretly under the threat of being shot either in the street or in the house should the soldiers enter it. It is impossible to forget these services, this nocturnal liturgy so different from the usual, for they not only resembled but were almost the same as the ancient gathering of Christians in Roman days. When we sang 'Christ has risen from the dead' the horror which was taking place outside seemed only external, for the Church of Christ like the pure Bride of the Lamb, took its own course, was not of this world and it was within it that Christ was rising.

As soon as the Hungarian troops had finally occupied our territory it was announced both on the radio and in the press that from then on all the Orthodox churches were to belong

¹ Here are extracts from a talk given by Father Vladimir Rodzianko to the E.C.Q. Study Group.

to the jurisdiction of the newly created so-called 'Hungarian Orthodox Church', the head of which was appointed by the Hungarian regent, himself a Roman Catholic. It was the former twice defrocked priest Popov, and everybody had to submit to him. He had little concern for faith or Church. Religious instruction in the Serbo-Croat language was forbidden and only one teacher who spoke Hungarian was left in the town. All others, including myself, lost their jobs and I had no other way of keeping my family but by becoming a labourer. In the day-time I cycled off to work and in the evening I would don my cassock and would lecture or officiate in the Church. It was like this for a whole summer.

The Orthodox Bishop Vladimir from Mukachevo in the Carpathians was arrested and the whole diocese, previously under the patriarch of Serbia, was subjected against the wish of the population to Popov. A similar attempt was made in Bachka but Bishop Iriney managed to withstand it. He quoted certain Austro-Hungarian laws still in force in these parts. Nevertheless, all the monasteries and convents were closed down. The nuns from one of these were forcibly taken across the Danube into Croatia where the Orthodox were being exterminated.

Around the Bodjan monastery there were several villages in which there lived quite a number of Orthodox people. They had now been deprived of a church, of services and of a priest. Our bishop lost his influence there, while Popov paid no attention to these parts. There was among these villages a small hamlet of Russian émigrés called Nikolaievo. I went there in my capacity of a Russian priest. Our first liturgy was celebrated in a small private room of a local teacher. Everybody who was not afraid came and among those who came were many Serbs. As a result the missionary council formed a small church, which was Russian, officially speaking, but which united all Orthodox.

We celebrated the New Year with some friends where people who lived in Christ gathered together. What was 1942 going to bring us? It brought us many things. In particular the cruel death of our hospitable hosts exactly six days after that evening. In those days thousands of innocent people were thus killed, shot or thrown into the ice-bound Danube. On the other side of the Danube the Croats were doing the same things with the Orthodox. The Serbian Orthodox Church became illegal, and as in the Hungarian

zone, the so-called 'Croat-Orthodox Church' was artificially formed. The Orthodox world did not recognize these 'Orthodox' Churches.

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In the summer of 1943, owing to the bad health of my wife, we had to go into the mountains. There could be no better place than the convent of Lipsha in the Carpathians where one could go without any permits, as they were incorporated like our own Bachka into the Hungarian State. People told me with bitterness and sadness everything that was taking place in their diocese, which had been torn away from its Church and deprived of spiritual nourishment. They were even without the holy unction for chrismation because Popov, who had no contact with any Orthodox bishop was unable to supply them with any. (Normally, it is only the patriarch who blesses the holy unction in the Orthodox Church.) Having come home, I told my bishop about it and some time later in the winter I secretly brought them the holy unction. This unction became not only the symbol, but the actual means, of unity of true believers with their Church, as opposed to those who thinking of the earthly gifts forsook the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

The festival of the Birth of Our Lady at Lipsha is especially memorable. People came along winding roads which led to the convent on all sides. Girls were dressed in their colourful national costumes with ribbons and flowers, they sang their national songs. The church banners which they carried were in keeping with the style of their costumes. The service, prayers, and confession lasted through the whole night. It was truly an all-night vigil of the kind that took place in ancient days. The liturgy was celebrated on the altar of a small chapel, while the people stood in the open. This was done because the many thousands that came could not have found enough room in the regular Church. It was there and then that prayers were said for their patriarch and their bishop in the face of danger.

The autumn of 1944 was drawing near and on the 20th October the Russian army entered the liberated village. It was on a Sunday morning, while I was celebrating the liturgy. People came into the altar (i.e. behind the eikonastasis) to inform me of it and to ask me to come out and meet the Soviet colonel, who said that he was expecting us. It was

impossible to interrupt the canon of the eucharist and I replied that I would gladly come as soon as the liturgy was over. They came several times to fetch me because they needed someone to interpret from Russian into Serbian and in the end they asked me to allow the choirmaster, who knew both languages to come out. Almost the whole choir left, so did many of the congregation and suddenly there was wonderful peace in the church, for only those remained who found the eternal values of heaven dearer than the illusory freedom of earth. It was at that time that I understood the ultimate meaning of things happening around us. The faithful came closer together at the feet of Christ. Among them there were no indifferent ones.

'We feel great respect for priests, they do not propagate anything wrong.' Those were the first words of the Soviet colonel when I came out to meet him in a crowd of people. And, I must say that in practice his words were borne out. We were not persecuted, they did not in any sense worry us—on the contrary, they helped us, although they remain at the same time outside the Church. Yet among the newly arrived Russian soldiers there were some who came to pray, confess and take communion, even though it was not encouraged by their superiors. But since they were not openly forbidden to attend they used to come. There were some others who mocked, argued, tried to prove that all our belief was stupid. One saw clearly among them the division which was beginning to show itself among ourselves. The attitude of local partisans, which is so different from the Russian attitude, is therefore, very easy to understand. When they occupied a village, one of the first things they would do would be to find a priest out and shoot him down without trial. When our village in a guerilla war of 1941-43 fell finally into their hands, a fanatical struggle with the Church began and assumed elemental proportions. It was not so much a plan directed from above, as the state of mind of local people in charge. Whereas the Russians arrested and deported people for political reasons, the local authorities behaved on more spiritual grounds.

They could not bear to see any religion at all, to hear of this 'opium of the people'. Crucifixes at cross roads were sadistically broken down, the figure of Christ was broken up. The head, the legs, the arms would be torn off, they would throw stones at it—they could not see Him calmly.

* * * * *

The Yugoslav partisans were younger than the Russians, who had thirty years behind them and there is the explanation of their more violent behaviour.

One morning, on the day of the Archangel Michael, we found that we could not celebrate in the church because the door had been broken down and everything on the altar was either destroyed, kicked about, or broken. Some newcomers to the village could not bear me, hated me from the bottom of their hearts, spat at me and started a bitter propaganda against me simply because of the fact that I did not only take part in the partisan movement to liberate the country, but behaved loyally towards the new authorities and the communist order and also helped in as far as it was in my power to rebuild the country after the ravages of war. I was active as a priest and for them this was unbearable. Many of my former parishioners stopped coming to church from fear, and tried to avoid me. There came a moment when the church council itself suggested that the church should be closed down. It was extremely difficult to save it. But while some of the dear members of the church abandoned it others came to join it.

Not far from my village there was a little hamlet which belonged to my parish. The population there was purely Orthodox, but at the beginning of the war all the inhabitants were brutally deported and sent to a camp for the sole reason that they settled there after 1918. Now they had all come back to their heaps of ashes. There was no church there, nor was there any transport between them and my village. I started going there on a bicycle in ordinary clothes. The first liturgy was celebrated in a schoolroom, the walls of which were decorated with red flags and Communist slogans. Not that it worried us. To begin with we lacked even eikons and a cross. All we had was a table in the middle and on it an antimimension with the holy chalice.

But the struggle against religion began here as well. And it was then that our Lord himself manifested his power. One day I was going round the homes blessing the holy water, according to the Serbian custom of their christening 'family Slava'. There was a boy lying ill in one of the houses and I saw a woman crying next to him. I paid no special attention to him, read out the prayer and went on. A little later having come back to the village and having come into that house I was met by this woman, now happy, who said that the boy began to walk. It was then that she told me

for the first time about the boy's illness. His legs had been paralysed and he had been bedridden some months already and no doctor could cure him, but after that prayer he got up and walked. This shook the villagers. And soon there was a little church near the cemetery and it was well attended.

Not far from my village there was another called Odjaczi, where newly arrived Serbs founded a new church and asked the recently liberated Bishop Irineus of Novi Sad to come to consecrate it. During the Saturday evening vespers an organized group of armed young people attacked the congregation. A young girl pulled the bishop by the beard, that being a signal for the others. The bishop was thrown down and they began kicking him on the head, one priest was beaten till he bled, others ran away leaving the bishop alone. Simple peasants, however, managed to help him by smuggling him out at night and taking him to the neighbouring town of Novi Sad. The consecration of the church therefore did not take place. The bishop fell ill and is now completely senile.

It was at this time that my first trial connected with my work in the Red Cross took place. It was difficult to sentence me, but I was asked to come to a department of the Ministry of the Interior in the main provincial town of Sombor where an official was trying to convince me to stop my religious activities, saying: 'You are young, you have a wife, you have children'.

I was then appointed by the bishop to undertake religious instruction in Subotica, where this activity was still officially allowed. I started the lessons, but was soon informed that there is no room for that sort of thing, while one newspaper published an article about my dangerous teaching, since I discussed the question whether Darwin was a religious man. As a result the little Christians began coming to lessons held in the Church, a thing that was officially prohibited. This did not put them off. We gathered together in this way for a whole year although it was cold, uncomfortable and dangerous. These children showed great enthusiasm—they were chosen ones. I was also detailed to go to a village not far off which had no church although there were several thousands of Orthodox people, whose numbers increased since the war. We used to gather in private houses as we used to do during the war. I remember these prayers we said in private houses, where we celebrated the liturgy, or christened quite grown-up children. One day, after the authorities had

forbidden 'public meetings', as they put it, we celebrated the liturgy in a small hut, the temporary altar having been arranged on the threshold while the congregation stood in the yard despite the rain for which we said prayers and which began just then. On some other occasion we had the liturgy in the cemetery for there was nowhere else.

Especially difficult times for the Church in Yugoslavia began in 1949. The rift between Tito and Stalin had taken place, one of the many points of disagreement being Stalin's new attitude to the Church—his 'capitulation' as Tito put it in one of his speeches. The Yugoslav Communists were still undergoing the period of their anti-religious youth, when the hatred towards religion is still elemental, comes from the depths of fanatical hearts, and when complete division between the believers and the non-believers, as it is in Russia, has not yet come about. Until 1949 the Russian Church already established had great influence on Tito's policy and without any doubt had helped and supported the Church in Yugoslavia. Now this support had ended, while Tito has not yet established complete contact with the West. It is for this reason that local anti-religious elements in the country acted freely. Purely anti-religious arrests of priests began on a large scale and were freely reported in the Press. Metropolitan Joseph who acted for the patriarch was arrested then on political grounds as it was officially stated.

But in the summer of 1950 a change of policy towards the Church became evident. Tito himself in the above-mentioned speech warned the local Communists 'not to make the same mistakes as were made in Soviet Russia after the Revolution', when churches were destroyed, but the aim was not achieved for 'the Communists had to capitulate'.

The patriarchal throne of the Serbian Church was at this time vacant as the Patriarch Gabriel had just died. The new Patriarch Vikentije (Vincent) was elected with the consent of the government. His aim was to reach an agreement with the authorities who were changing their attitude. And it is still his main task, at present a very difficult one.

The new law has just been passed by the General Assembly of the Republic, according to which the Church is definitely separated from the State and the schools are separated from the Church, while 'the freedom of religion' is officially announced. There are, however, many points on which full agreement cannot be reached. In spite of all changes of their policy the Yugoslav Communists still remain faithful to their

creed : the materialistic ideology, for which they never cease to fight, believing in its final victory.

The Church in spite of all her endeavours to be loyal to the State and to avoid all earthly politics, is faithful to her creed and to what she believes to be her main aim in this world : to avoid schisms, safeguard her unity and fight for the salvation of human souls.

The Party and the Church are 'two parallel lines', as one of the Orthodox bishops said : they have nothing in common with each other, but they live side by side in the same country and under the same State, as St Paul did when he claimed to be 'a Roman citizen' and at the same time, 'the complete servant of Christ, the Lord'.

There is no better way of purification, both for every Christian, and the whole Church of God. And at the same time no easier way to fall down. But the Church as a whole grows even in such falls of her members for she becomes then more and more 'the chosen people of God' as she was in her first centuries.

VLADIMIR M. RODZIANKO.

'SOBORNOST' OR 'PAPACY'

I. THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH IN CONTEMPORARY ORTHODOXY

II

BUT Khomiakov's position was to bear fruit later on. Our task now is to see how the professional theologians have tried to explore its significance more profoundly and to reconcile it with the traditional teaching of the Orthodox Church. In fact, the problem upon which they were engaged was that of the criteria of the true Sobornost.¹ What are the signs by which the Catholic truth, which is the fruit of the general 'consensus', is to be distinguished, in default of the decisions of an infallible doctrinal magisterium? Bulgakov, who has shown himself the most enthusiastic of the Paris theologians with regard to Khomiakov's position, recognizes honestly that the problem is insoluble. In his essay on 'Orthodoxy' which

¹ This is the title of a book by Grabbe, published in 1930 and reviewed in *Irenikon*, 1930, pp. 614-15.

appeared in 1932 (and which has been challenged as being of doubtful 'orthodoxy' in various places), he sees in the notion of Sobornost the very essence of the Church. Embracing at the same time 'conciliarity' and 'catholicity' or 'oecumenicity', the expression should not be understood in the quantitative sense usually employed by Roman Catholics for whom the idea of Catholicity implies a geographical diffusion throughout the οἰκουμένη, but in a qualitative sense which is eminently patristic (cf. Ignatius of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria): it signifies unanimity, complete harmony achieved by the union of each with all (καθ' ὅλου); it is an attribute of the invisible Church of which it signifies the mystical and metaphysical reality and not her exterior diffusion. 'Catholicity is without geographical attributes, or empirical manifestation' (p. 86). Of course there is a link between this interior Catholicity and Oecumenicity, as between noumenon and phenomenon, Bulgakov explains, but this ontological Catholicity is not absolute, by reason of the obstacles which it encounters in a weak and sinful humanity, and so it is only realized in a limited fashion. The canon of Lerins is the abstract point of view of a theologian, which has no application in history, even for Roman Catholicism. The true Sobornost is interior; it consists in participation in the ultimate wisdom, the divine 'sophia' which is the Church existing in spirit before all ages. The truth of the Church is not given to man in isolation and separation from other men, but in a vital and immediate union, the unity of the many in one, the organic uni-totality of the Mystical Body, the image of the Holy Trinity.

This conciliarity is the Catholic conscience; in relation to the consciousness of the individual it might be called a 'supra-conscience', because it is the conscience of 'us' acting within 'me', 'it is the "I" grounded in the "we"', writes Bulgakov (p. 91); in any case, it is the single and only test of the truth. To seek for a criterion of the Church's judgements outside that conscience which is her own, is to postulate the existence of a 'supra-ecclesial' conscience by means of which the Church would understand her own mind! The rational point of view has thus admittedly become a vicious circle, but this is unavoidable, for such a position is a natural and inevitable attribute of the ontological assertion (p. 90). Should we then seek our criterion in the oecumenical councils? This would be wholly vain, for it is the Church alone who is the judge of the oecumenicity of her councils, not on juridical grounds,

but by the silent affirmative which she gives in recognizing the true witnessing of her faith. No exterior organ can fulfil this rôle, without placing itself *ipso facto* above the Church, which is as much as to say, outside her. There is no oracle which can speak in the name of the Spirit, other than the whole Church, which has its very life from his indwelling and its understanding from his truth (pp. 103-04).

Thus Bulgakov gives unreserved approval to the views of his illustrious compatriot. As with Khomiakov, the distinction between the hierarchy and the Christian people, although nominally maintained, tends to disappear. The tendency is to reduce the former to a purely sacramental and administrative function, and to make the teaching and guiding of the Church the business of all. The Holy Spirit gives life to the whole Church, both clergy and people, and it is in them all, united, that he makes his voice heard in matters of teaching or direction; there is no guarantee in special organs or exterior signs. To seek for such is to be the victim of 'ecclesiastical fetish'. Bulgakov adds: 'to be disturbed by this lack of exterior signs of the truth of the Church, is to fail to believe in her or to understand her'.

So far so good. Nevertheless, the Spirit makes use of instruments in order to make the Church's voice known; but instead of an authorized hierarchy, speaking individually or united in a college, the Church's truth may be revealed in a single member in whom lies the spirit of the true Sobornost. It is necessary to ask whether we are not here reduced to a kind of 'prophetism'—with a prophet who is unable to give any sign as a guarantee of his divine mission, other than the assent which he received from the true faithful. And how are we to know who these are? Since neither the law of the majority nor any other such principle is recognizable. And who is to be the arbiter between Serge Bulgakov, teaching a gnostic sophiology in which he believes as sincerely as in Sobornost, and his bishop or brethren who tax him with heresy? This generous and sympathetic thinker, whose intentions were always of the most noble and sincere, allowed himself to be seduced by a theosophy which compromised orthodoxy; and even to-day there is no moral unanimity in the judgement of his Church upon his doctrines. Who will tell us whether they are in conformity with Tradition and the revealed Truth?

¹ In fairness it must be said that his own bishop, Metropolitan Eulogius of Paris did not condemn him.—THE EDITOR.

We find the search for an answer to this problem in the essays of a great contemporary Orthodox theologian, Fr G. Florovsky. Although he shows the same sympathy for Khomiakov as his confrère of the *Institut Saint-Serge*, he has dissociated himself from his theological and prophetic modernism. In the essay which he devoted to the notion of Sobornost in an Anglo-Russian symposium in 1934, he rejects what he sees as the Roman interpretation of 'Catholicity', and has no difficulty in demonstrating the inadequacies of the canon of Lerins: 'we cannot dissect Catholicity as if it were a kind of empirical universality'. It is by Tradition that we are judged: no doubt, Tradition is, of itself, universal; but all are not able to accept it. The rule of universal consent, of the 'consensus omnium', is inadequate. Far from being a criterion, it must be regulated itself according to the objective truth, in theology as well as in philosophy. We are brought back then to Tradition, the living tradition of the Church. Where is this to be found. In the councils, for a start; but not in them alone: Catholic truth may find its expression without them. It is to be found principally in the Fathers of the Church, the 'universal doctors'—'οἱ διδασκαλοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης'. The Fathers are not merely theologians; they are witnesses to the Church's tradition. Their opinions have no need of verification or of acceptance by the universal consent; on the contrary, it is they who are the criterion of the truth, a fact to which the Church bears witness in her tacit assent which she accords them. She does not, of course, submit to their doctrine as to some exterior authority or law, but rather by reason of the internal evidence of their truth in the faith. And although the whole Christian people may be called upon to verify their orthodoxy, and even in a sense is under an obligation to do so, it is upon the hierarchy that the responsibility for this verification and for teaching authoritatively falls. The power to do this it has received from Christ, so that it acts as the organ for the expression of the faith of the whole Church. The bishop is the representative of his flock, and epitomizes their faith which finds its culmination in him; he acts in their name, 'ex consensu ecclesiae'. Also, they act as a check upon him: if he should deviate from the Catholic rule, they may accuse him, and even have the right to depose him.³

³ 'Sobornost' in the Church of God: an anglo-russian Symposium, London, 1934, pp. 71-2; cf. also *La sainte Eglise universelle: confrontation œcuménique*, in *Cahiers théologiques de l'actualité protestante*, Neuchâtel, 1948: *Le corps du Christ vivant*, pp. 49-53.

This all too brief résumé shows the progress achieved by Fr Florovsky as compared with S. Bulgakov in his elaboration of a coherent doctrine of Sobornost. It should also be added immediately that it seems to us to be more in conformity with the classical Orthodox thesis, with its insistence on the objective foundation of Catholic teaching: in other words, Tradition, and the function of the hierarchy as the authentic exponent of Revelation.⁴ This approximates to the Catholic conception of the 'magisterium ordinarium' of the universal episcopate, the witness to and authorized interpreter of the Holy Tradition. Nevertheless, it seems to us to err on the side of over-optimism, at least in the way it is presented by the author;⁵—the optimism of Cyprian of Carthage who saw in the spontaneous coming together of the episcopate a remedy—the only one possible—for all the doctrinal or practical crises in the life of the Church. For if the Tradition itself is living, and if the message of Christ, ever the same in its reality throughout the ages, is susceptible of a development in the understanding of it, as the author himself recognizes is so,⁶ where are we to seek the principle for distinguishing the authentic developments in the formulation of doctrines? In the Fathers, perhaps? But the author himself recognizes that the deposit of faith is infinitely greater than its formulations at any particular moment in time: that it is not to the letter of the Fathers that we must return, but to their spirit.⁷ Are we then reduced to trusting ourselves to the judgement of the theologians? God preserve us from attributing such a lack of realism to one who is as well aware of the Church's history as this eminent patristic scholar. Again, how can one consult the Fathers about new problems which they never envisaged, in situations completely different from those of their own times? Florovsky seems to believe that in such cases we must put our trust in the general Christian consensus and understanding of the flock of Christ. This I would be

⁴ 'Ce n'est que dans son évêque ou plutôt dans l'épiscopat entier que l'Eglise possède des exponents authentiques de sa foi et de son espoir, qu'elle a ses témoins catholiques. Car, les évêques seuls parlent ex officio, c'est-à-dire en vertu de leur caractère représentatif.' (*La sainte Eglise universelle*, p. 53.)

⁵ The author himself anticipates the objection: 'on peut nous reprocher un excès d'optimisme dans l'exposé que nous venons de faire de la vie de l'Eglise.' (*Op. cit.*, p. 53.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ Cf. Procès verbaux du Congrès d'Athènes: Patristic and modern Theology, p. 240.

very far from questioning—it is the *whole* Church, laity and clergy, which bears the charisms and receives its life from the Holy Spirit. But is it to the flock that the competent judgement belongs in the case of theological or juridical dissensions among the pastors? And will it always be acting as the expression of the true Christian tradition and not from some unexpressed desire for human peace and quietness to which questions of dogmatic divergence may be subordinated?

The recent history of the Russian Church of the emigration may serve to illustrate these apprehensions.⁶ Every Catholic who is a friend of peace and unity and who desires to see these blessings enjoyed by his dissident brethren, must feel as sorrowful as the Orthodox themselves do at the painful dissensions which have given occasion for a passionate controversy among the theologians of the various obediences, which is by no means at an end. We will simply consider it here in its dogmatic aspect; for the 'Parisian schism', as several contemporary Russian canonists are now calling it, has made it possible for the theologians to raise the debate to a more elevated plane and to raise the fundamental problem of the nature and the structure of the Church.

The émigré Russians in Western Europe are, as it is well known, divided into three separate and rival jurisdictions. After the war, in 1945, the patriarch of Moscow succeeded in nominally reuniting them under his own obedience; but the majority of the faithful of the two eparchies which had until then been independent of Moscow refused to submit to the jurisdiction of a patriarch whom they judged insufficiently independent and under the influence of Soviet policy. On the death of Mgr Eulogius in 1946, his successor, Mgr Vladimir, severed the bonds of communion with the mother Church, which in any case were only conditional, and re-established the former canonical position of his eparchy, submitting to the jurisdiction of the œcumenical patriarch of Constantinople. With the title of exarch of the œcumenical patriarch for the Russians of Western Europe, he laboured from then on to put an end to these dissensions, which are so harmful to the religious life of the Orthodox faithful of the emigration. Recently, in 1949, in the name of the patriarchal assembly, he addressed a message to all Orthodox

⁶ On this subject, one might refer to the well-documented article of Père Mailleux, *Chrétiens d'Orient en Occident*, in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1950, pp. 978-980.

residing in Western Europe.⁹ In addition to an urgent appeal for unity, this address included a justification of its necessity in the name of the holy canons—never abolished—which enjoined the unity of the hierarchy in accordance with the territorial principle and the spiritual allegiance of the Orthodox Churches to the œcumenical patriarch, primate of the Catholic Church. This irenic message was received with an energetic refusal on the part of the two other jurisdictions, that dependent upon the (autonomous) synod of Munich, and still more so on that of the theologians of the Ecole St-Denis in Paris, under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Moscow.

In the *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe occidentale*, the organ of this latter institute, the hieromonk Sophrony took the matter up in an extremely long, dense and virulent article,¹⁰ in which he attacked Mgr Vladimir's message and also the theologians of the Institut Saint-Serge—among them Fr Schmemmann—who had taken part in the preparation of the address of the eparchal assembly. According to the writer, the neo-papalist tendencies expressed in these documents, could end in nothing but the ruin of the essential structure of the Orthodox Church, founded upon Sobornost. The author sets out to give his position a theological basis, which he proceeds to do in a magisterial exposition in which he sees ecclesiology in relation to the primary mystery which is as it were the ideal example of it: the Holy Trinity. This mystery, in itself inaccessible to the human mind which is only able to approach it by the light of Revelation, is the law and the foundation of all Christian life, the perfect model of that unity of the human race which Christ came here below to inaugurate by his proclamation of the two great commandments: 'Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God', and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as Thyself'. The Holy Trinity is the absolute perfection of charity, of which the mystery of unity is the realization of the incomprehensible pledge of a total co-penetration of distinct persons, in all points equal and perfectly autonomous. It is the perfect example of Sobornost, the fullness of Catholicity, for each hypostasis, bearer of the plenitude of the divinity, is dynamically equal to the unity of the three.¹¹

⁹ For the text, cf. *Russie et chrétienté*, 1949, Nos. 3-4, pp. 136-140; on the eparchal assembly, cf. Père Dumont's chronicle, *ibid.*, pp. 154-65.

¹⁰ *L'unité de l'Eglise à l'image de l'unité de la Sainte Trinité*, Russian text: 1950, Nos. 2-3, pp. 8-33; translation into French: No. 5, 1950, pp. 33-61.

¹¹ *Messenger de l'exarchat*, Nos. 2-3, pp. 14-18; No. 5, 1950, pp. 39-42.

And it is precisely the object of the Church to realize this ideal in the human race, by bringing her members within the sphere of the divine Being. Even in her merely historical aspect, she must show forth the image of this Being, preserving the equality of the Persons in the unity of Substance. On the plane of her canonical life, which is the visible expression of her essential reality, the terms used to express this manifestation are 'Sobornost' and 'autocephaly'—the perfect equality and autonomy of the sister Churches and their perfect unity in love. The author asserts that in comparison with this conception, papalism can only signify perversion: it is foreign to the very essence of Orthodoxy, and is an error due to a fatal process in the human spirit which, left to its own resources, is only able to conceive trinitarian unity as a kind of ontological subordinationism, either cosmological or soteriological.¹²

Moreover, the principle invoked by the author is valid, it seems, for each local Church, that is to say, for each bishop. It may be objected that the holy canons, among others the apostolic canon No. 34, have approved the establishment of a 'Primate' in the Church of each nation, with a certain authority over the bishops of his autocephaly. Sophrony readily recognizes this; but says that the theologians of Constantinople, as well as those of Rome, have pushed overfar a canonical principle which is only applicable on the local level. By a kind of rationalism of which the end is a logical monism,¹³ they are tending towards the setting up of an absolutism in the Church, foreign to the free unity of faith and love which must always persist throughout the accidental changes of the Church's canonical constitution, as the very expression of her ontological nature. It is not possible in this article, already over-long, to discuss this theologian's views; it is hoped, perhaps, to do so shortly. It may just be added that his opinion is shared and applied by several of his brethren of Saint-Denis, among others the Archpriest Kovalevsky, who, in the same review, analyses the thirty-fourth canon which his opponents quote against him,¹⁴ and draws certain conclusions from the position put forward by his two compatriots.¹⁵

¹² Ibid., Nos. 2-3; pp. 17-20; No. 5, pp. 44-6.

¹³ Ibid., Nos. 2-3, pp. 23-4; No. 5, pp. 50-1.

¹⁴ *Analyse du 34^e canon apostolique* (in Russian), *ibid.*, Nos. 2-3, pp. 33-6; in French (original text), pp. 67-75.

¹⁵ *Problèmes ecclésiologiques* (in Russian) *ibid.*, No. 4, pp. 11-20.

It is time to close this enquiry, necessarily summary, with an overall judgement, of which the implications can be pursued later. We will most readily grant that in its 'positive' as well as in its 'mystical' aspects, and apart from particular canonical applications which may have been deduced from it, the notion of Sobornost appears to us to be eminently traditional in the Church; and, as such, merits not only the sympathy but the agreement of Catholic theologians. We have noted above the classic expression of St Cyprian in his *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, and one could show that this organic conception of the Church, whose life here below is the common fruit of the activity of all, was one of the basic ideas about Tradition which found its solemn expression in the great councils of the *oikoumene*. Must it be said that to translate this into our Western terms, this common inheritance of Tradition must take the form of a 'democratism', as Khomiakov inclined to think? The idea of such a juridical equality of each member of the Church seems to indicate a Protestant origin from which theologians faithful to Orthodoxy revolt with the same horror as ourselves, firmly maintaining the hierarchy *jure divino*: the structure of the Church, divinely constituted, presupposes a diversity and a hierarchy of functions, with the consequences and exigencies in practice which this involves, for the edification of the Body of Christ. The part of the laity in the common labour is a great one—the Church of Rome is the first to recognize it: not only in evangelization, but also in the safeguarding of Tradition and in co-operation in the authentic magisterium.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it has still its 'place' in the Body of the Church, and is only able to fulfil its function in relation to the hierarchy which is the prolongation of the visible presence of the Good Shepherd in the midst of His flock.

Sobornost, properly understood, is not opposed to the hierarchical principle: Fr Bulgakov, however enamoured he may have been of Khomiakov's ideas, was the first to recognize this.¹⁷ However little the Orthodox theologians may wish to appear faithful to their ecclesiastical traditions, of which the primary expression must be sought neither in

¹⁶ Cf. the recent articles of Père Congar, *La fonction prophétique de l'Eglise*, in *Irénikon*, 1951, pp. 289-312, 440-66.

¹⁷ 'La sobornost ne contredit pas le principe fondamental de la hiérarchie institué par Dieu lui-même, mais il lui assigne la place qui lui revient dans l'Eglise et non au-dessus de l'Eglise et il l'explique comme l'organisation propre de la sobornost.' (*Thesen über die Kirche*, No. 5, in *Procès-verbaux du congrès d'Athènes*, p. 130.)

the writings of a lay theologian nor in the books of their great novelists,¹⁸ but rather in the voice of the Fathers and of the great Councils—they will find *within the Church* the real meaning of this element of stability and continuity; of which Mgr Sergius of Finland gave such an exact and traditional interpretation¹⁹ at the pre-council of Moscow in 1906.

Further, Sobornost does not exclude personal episcopal authority, which, indeed, is its basis, as certain Orthodox theologians at the Council of Moscow in 1917 saw very well, and as is shown even better by the kind of spontaneous religious dialectic which resulted in the re-establishment of the patriarchate in Russia after an interval of two centuries. Vassiliev remarked that the principle of Sobornost which was put forward by the liberals as an argument against the re-establishment of a personal power, must be distinguished from simple 'collegiality', or the triumph of the majority. Sobornost, a moral principle, preserves that personal authority which disappears in 'collegiality', under which decisions are made according to the majority and where each party defends its own interests. Where there is true Sobornost, the individual is prepared to sacrifice his rights for the common good.²⁰

And is not what is true of the autocephalous Church all the more true of the Church Universal, willed by Christ as a unique visible organism? And is it really a '*latius hos*' to postulate a principle of unity and a foundation of the hierarchy itself? Which, lacking such a foundation, is condemned sooner or later to dissensions or rivalries which rend the Body of Christ. In order to save himself from this immanent dialectic which we claim to find, in the name of our faith, in the very heart of Christ's work, Fr Schmemann has no other defence than a recourse to a conception of federated local Churches, each identical with the universal Church and united by the bonds of faith and communion in fidelity to a

¹⁸ We have found an encouraging witness to this under the pen of the Archimandrite Cyprian Kern, honoured by the Institut Saint-Serge, on the subject of Russian theology: 'tout en se détournant de la scolastique, il ne faut pas chercher chez le seul Khomiakov les armes qui préservent de tous les maux du rationalisme ni faire appel à la légende du grand Inquisiteur comme à une source de la connaissance théologique'. (*Tserkovny Visti*, 1950, No. 4. Quoted in *Russie et Chrétienté*, 1950, Nos. 1-2, p. 78.)

¹⁹ Cf. Malvy, *La Réforme de l'Église russe*, in *Études*, 1906, Vol. CVII, pp. 325-26. Also the fine book by Père Wuyts, *Le patriarchat russe au concile de Moscou de 1917-1918*. Coll. *Or. christ. anal.*, 129.

²⁰ Cf. Wuyts, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

single tradition.²¹ 'It is my firm conviction that, if it were to adopt these categories (i.e. the Roman ones) of a universal organism, Orthodox theology would inevitably lead to Rome.'²² It is proposed to take up this line of thought, and to show, in a second article, that the Catholic notion of the Papacy, even since the Vatican Council, does not destroy the relative autonomy of the local Churches, grouped round their bishops, the guardians by divine right of their respective flocks; but that on the contrary, it is the only possible foundation for the true Sobornost, established by him who has said in his Gospel, in respect of the college which he chose to be for ever the teachers of his Church, united across time and space: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it'.

Louvain.

(To be continued.)

G. DEJAIVE, S.J.

THE EPISTLES, GOSPELS AND TONES OF THE BYZANTINE LITURGICAL YEAR

(Continued.)

II.

THE PERIOD OF ST LUKE AND OF ST MARK

From the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Easter-Eve.

c. *The Gospel of St Luke* (19 weeks) follows that of *St Matthew* (17 weeks) on the Monday after the Sunday following the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and lasts until the Great Fast.

THE END OF THE ST MATTHEW SERIES

If Easter is early, the period of *St Matthew*, from the feast of Pentecost until the Exaltation, may be of *more than 17 weeks* (at the most 18 weeks). No gospels are indicated for the weekdays for the week before and after the 17th Sunday; they are taken either from *St Mark* (the 16th week of *Matt.* to be repeated), or from the Saint of the day.

If Easter is late, the period from Pentecost until the Exaltation is *less than 17 weeks* (not less than 13 weeks).

The gospels of the Saturday and Sunday before and after the Exaltation are proper to the feast, and often replace the

²¹ Cf. his article: *Unity, Division, Reunion in the light of Orthodox Theology*, in *Θεολογία*, April-June, 1951, pp. 242-54.

²² *Art. cit.*, p. 247.

St Matthew gospel, or are added, as second gospel, to the gospels of St Matthew.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ST LUKE SERIES

According to the Greek and Melkite usage, the St Luke period begins on the Monday after the Sunday which follows the Exaltation, even when the St Matthew series does not reach its 17th week. These remaining weeks are then omitted. The first Monday of St Luke may thus fall between 16th—22nd September and the first Sunday is always the second after the Exaltation.

In the Slavonic usage the St Luke period follows St Matthew's, but St Luke's Gospel never begins before the feast of the Exaltation. If the St Matthew series has finished before the Exaltation, the remaining time is filled up as above. If the St Matthew series did not reach its 17th week before the Exaltation, it is continued after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, until the end of the 17th week; the period of St Luke follows. The first week of St Luke is indicated in the Slavonic books as the 18th week and Sunday, etc. The Gospel series thus coincides always with the Epistle series of the same number.

The epistles and gospels of the series of St Luke given below are separated by a line, because according to the Greek and Melkite usage it rarely happens that these two series run together.

From the 13th week in the St Luke period (December) St Luke is read only on Saturdays and Sundays; St Mark is read on the remaining weekdays, like the five last weeks in the St Matthew period.

The last four Sundays of the St Luke period are reserved for the pre-fast period of the Triodion.

According to the Greek and Melkite usage, many of the Sunday Gospels between October and December are reserved for a special date as follows.

To be read on the Sunday which falls between :

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---|---|---|
| Oct. 11 and Oct. 17 | the 4th Gospel of St Luke | | | |
| Oct. 30 and Nov. 5 | the 5th | " | " | " |
| Nov. 24 and Nov. 30 | the 13th | " | " | " |
| Dec. 1 and Dec. 3 | the 14th | " | " | " |
| Dec. 4 and Dec. 10 | the 10th | " | " | " |
| Dec. 11 and Dec. 17 | the 11th | " | " | " |

In the Slavonic usage the Gospel for the Sundays remains unchanged as indicated in the tables. The Sundays which fall between 11th and 17th October (feast of the Fathers of the Seventh Synod) and the Sunday which falls between 11th and 17th December (feast of the Holy Ancestors of our Lord), the two Gospels are read, i.e. of the Sunday and of the feast—according to the general rule.

The Epistles, Tones and Resurrection Gospels continue during the period of St Luke in their own cycle, independently of the feast of the Exaltation, until the beginning of the pre-fast period. From then the Epistle series may be interrupted. The cycles of 8 tones and 11 resurrection Gospels, however, continue regularly until Palm Sunday, but it is impossible to indicate them during and after the 'interpolated weeks'.

VARIOUS INTERPOLATED WEEKS

When the approaching Easter is late and the period between the two Easters is more than 52 weeks, one or more weeks are interpolated before the beginning of the pre-fast period of the Triodion.

They are dealt with as follows :

The Epistle Series. 1 to 4 weeks may occur between the 31st and 33rd Epistle week (1st Sunday of the Triodion). The following readings are then used :

2 weeks : 29th repeated, 32nd.

3 weeks : 29th repeated, 32nd, 17th repeated.

4 weeks : 29th and 31st repeated, 32nd, 17th repeated.

The Gospel Series may have no or up to five Sundays between Epiphany and the Triodion as follows :

none Sun. after Epiph. on January 7th.

1 Sun. after Epiph.

2 Sun. after Epiph. and 15th of Luke.

3 Sun. after Epiph. and 12th, 15th Luke.

4 Sun. after Epiph. and 12th, 15th Luke, 17th Matt.

5 Sun. after Epiph. and 12th, 14th, 15th Luke, 17th Matt.

If for the remaining weekdays there should be no further Epistles and Gospels in the annual cycle, they may be taken from the cycle of the immovable feasts or from the Common of the Saints.

THE TRIODION PERIOD begins on the 10th Sunday before Easter (16th of St Luke—between 11th January and 14th February) which is followed by 3 weeks of pre-fast, the 6 weeks of the Great Fast and the Holy and Great Week of the Passion.

The 16th Sunday and the weeks 17—19 of St Luke of the Gospel series, and the 33rd Sunday and the weeks 34—36 of the Epistle series are reserved for the *pre-fast period*: The first Sunday of the Triodion period is the 'Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee'. The second Sunday (corresponding to the Latin Septuagesima) is called after the Prodigal Son. The following Saturday the offices are celebrated for all the faithful Departed.

The third Sunday (corresponding to the Latin Sexagesima) begins the Meat Fast Week. After this Sunday no meat may be eaten until Easter. This last week before the Great Fast has already two a-Liturgical days (Wednesday and Friday) for which no Epistles and Gospels are indicated.

The fourth Sunday (corresponding to the Latin Quinquagesima) is called the 'Cheese Fast', popularly known as 'Cheese Farewell' or 'Cheese Feast'. After this Sunday no cheese, eggs, or butter may be eaten and no milk may be drunk.

THE PERIOD OF ST MARK'S GOSPEL

d. *The Gospel of St Mark* is read on the Saturdays and Sundays of the Great Fast, except on the first Sunday (Gospel of St John). As noted above, St Mark's Gospel is also used on certain weekdays during the second part of the period of St Matthew and St Luke.

The season of the Holy and Great Fast (Lent).

The Great Fast begins on the Monday after 'Cheese Fast Sunday', two days earlier than the Latin 'Ash-Wednesday' which has no equivalent in the Byzantine rite. During the Great Fast the full liturgy is celebrated only on Saturdays and Sundays. On Saturdays the Holy Liturgy is of St John Chrysostom, on Sundays of St Basil the Great. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Presanctified Liturgy, preceded by Vespers, is celebrated. Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays are a-Liturgical days, so that no Epistles and Gospels are indicated for these five weekdays during Lent. The S. Congregation for the Eastern Church often grants the privilege of celebrating a full Liturgy on these days, but no texts are prescribed. Those who make use of the privilege, choose the readings for the Saint of the day, or the Common of Saints, or the weekly office (the Angels, the Forerunner, the Holy Cross, the Apostles . . .) or the office for the Departed. During the Great Fast the Departed are often commemorated (usually every Saturday). The Slavonic Epistle and Gospel books give

besides the Epistle and Gospel for the Saturday, a second Epistle and Gospel, that for the Departed (indicated in the Common of Saints).

The first week of the Great Fast (between Cheese Fast and the First Sunday) is the severest concerning food and the celebration of the Penitential Offices. The first Sunday is known as the Sunday of Orthodoxy and celebrates the triumph over the Iconoclasts, A.D. 842, and over other heresies.

On the third Sunday, and during the week which follows, the Adoration of the Holy Cross is celebrated. The fifth week is known for the celebration of 'the great Canon' on Wednesday night, and the Akathistos Hymn of the most Holy Mother of God, sung on Friday night.

On the Saturday before Palm Sunday the Church commemorates the resurrection of Lazarus, foreshadowing Christ's own Resurrection and that of mankind. On the Eve of Lazarus' Saturday the Great Fast proper (called the 'forty days') comes to an end.

Palm Sunday ('Christ's Entry into Jerusalem') is one of the twelve great feasts. On the following Monday 'the Fast of Christ's Passion' begins.

THE HOLY AND GREAT WEEK OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD. Scripture readings are increased. Every day has a Gospel indicated for the morning office and vespers. On the Holy and Great Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday Vespers and the Presanctified Liturgy are celebrated, with readings from the Old Testament and the Gospels.

On the Holy and Great Thursday 'the Great Passion of Our Lord' begins. After Vespers St Basil's Liturgy is celebrated, commemorating the institution of the Holy Eucharist. For the Washing of the Feet two Gospels are indicated.

On the Holy and Great Friday the morning office is entitled: 'The Office of the Holy and Redeeming Sufferings of Our Lord Jesus Christ'. Its chief feature is the reading of the Twelve Gospels, which are fitted into the morning office. The Gospels are usually read in the language of the country. On Great Friday no Liturgy is celebrated (not even the Presanctified). The solemn 'Great or Royal Hours' are celebrated, i.e. the small hours are exalted to 'Great Hours' with special readings from the Old Testament, the Epistles and Gospels. Vespers has also an Epistle and Gospel. The veneration of the Winding-sheet and Gospel-book corresponds to the Latin ceremony of the Veneration of the Cross.

On the Holy and Great Saturday: Morning Office with Epistle and Gospel. Vespers followed by St Basil's Liturgy. Late in the evening in the dark church lit by one candle, the Acts of the Apostles, beginning at the first chapter, are read by a succession of readers until the beginning of the Easter Midnight service.

c. THE PERIOD OF ST LUKE

From the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until the Great Fast

18TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Eph. iv, 25-v
C Tues. Eph. v, 20-26
D Wed. Eph. v, 25-vi
E Thurs. Eph. v, 33-vi, 9
F Fri. Eph. vi, 18-end
G Sat. I Cor. xv, 39-46
A Sun. II Cor. ix, 6-12

Tone 1. Resurr. Gospel 7*

19TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Phil. i, 1-8
C Tues. Phil. i, 8-15
D Wed. Phil. i, 12-20b
E Thurs. Phil. i, 20b-27b
F Fri. Phil. i, 27-ii, 5.
G Sat. I Cor. xv, 58-xvi, 4
A Sun. II Cor. xi, 31-xii, 10

Tone 2. Resurr. Gospel 8

20TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Phil. ii, 12-16b
C Tues. Phil. ii, 16-24
D Wed. Phil. ii, 24-iii
E Thurs. Phil. iii, 1-8
F Fri. Phil. iii, 8-23
G Sat. II Cor. i, 8-12
A Sun. Gal. i, 11-20

Tone 3. Resurr. Gospel 9

21ST WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Phil. iv, 10-v
C Tues. Col. i, 1-12
D Wed. Col. i, 18-24
E Thurs. Col. i, 24-ii, 1b
F Fri. Col. ii, 1-8
G Sat. II Cor. iii, 12-iv
A Sun. Gal. ii, 16-21

Tone 4 Resurr. Gospel 10

1ST WEEK OF ST LUKE; 18TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke iii, 19-23
C Tues. Luke iii, 23-iv, 2
D Wed. Luke iv, 1-16
E Thurs. Luke iv, 16-22c
F Fri. Luke iv, 22-31
G Sat. Luke xv, 31-37
A Sun. Luke v, 1-12

2ND WEEK OF ST LUKE; 19TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke iv, 38-v
C Tues. Luke v, 12-17
D Wed. Luke v, 33-vi.
E Thurs. Luke vi, 12-20
F Fri. Luke vi, 17-23c
G Sat. Luke v, 17-27
A Sun. Luke vi, 31-37

3RD WEEK OF ST LUKE; 20TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke vi, 24-31
C Tues. Luke vi, 37-46
D Wed. Luke vi, 46-vii, 2
E Thurs. Luke vii, 17-31
F Fri. Luke vii, 31-36
G Sat. Luke v, 27-33
A Sun. Luke vii, 11-17

4TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 21ST SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke vii, 36-viii
C Tues. Luke viii, 1-4
D Wed. Luke viii, 22-26
E Thurs. Luke ix, 7-12
F Fri. Luke ix, 12-18b
G Sat. Luke vi, 1-11
A Sun. Luke viii, 5-8, 9-16, 8b-9†

†According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read on the Sunday which falls between 11-17 October.¹

*For the Resurrection Gospels in the Morning Office see week 1-11 after Pentecost.

¹Should this Sunday not fall between these dates, according to the Greek and Melkite usage its Gospel is exchanged with that of the Sunday which falls within those dates.

The weekday Gospels keep their order even when the Sunday ones are switched.

The Epistles, Gospels and Tones

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22ND WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. Col. ii, 13-21
C Tues. Col. ii, 20-iii, 4
D Wed. Col. iii, 17-iv, 2
E Thurs. Col. iv, 2-10
F Fri. Col. iv, 10-end
G Sat. II Col. v, 1-10b
A Sun. Gal. vi, 11-end
Tone 5 Ressur. Gospel 11

5TH WEEK OF ST LUKE ; 22ND SLAV.

B Mon. Luke ix, 18-23
C Tues. Luke ix, 23-28
D Wed. Luke ix, 44b-51
E Thurs. Luke ix, 49b-55b, 56b-57
F Fri. Luke x, 1-16
G Sat. Luke vii, 1-11
A Sun. Luke xvi, 19-xviii†
† According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read on the Sunday which falls between 30th Oct. and 5th Nov.¹

23RD WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. I Thess. i, 1-6
C Tues. I Thess. i, 6-ii
D Wed. I Thess. ii, 1-9
E Thurs. I Thess. ii, 9-14c
F Fri. I Thess. ii, 14-iii
G Sat. II Cor. viii, 1-6
A Sun. Eph. ii, 4-11
Tone 6. Ressur. Gospel 1

6TH WEEK OF ST LUKE ; 23RD SLAV.

B Mon. Luke x, 22-25
C Tues. Luke xi, 1-11
D Wed. Luke xi, 9-14
E Thurs. Luke xi, 14-24
F Fri. Luke xi, 23-27
G Sat. Luke viii, 16-22
A Sun. Luke viii, 27-40

24TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. I Thess. ii, 20-iii, 9
C Tues. I Thess. iii, 9-iv
D Wed. I Thess. iv, 1-12
E Thurs. I Thess. iv, 18-v, 11
F Fri. I Thess. v, 9-end
G Sat. II Cor. xi, 1-7
A Sun. Eph. ii, 14-iii
Tone 7. Ressur. Gospel 2

7TH WEEK OF ST LUKE ; 24TH SLAV.

B Mon. Luke xi, 29-34
C Tues. Luke xi, 34-42
D Wed. Luke xi, 42-47
E Thurs. Luke xi, 47-xii, 2
F Fri. Luke xii, 2-13
G Sat. Luke ix, 1-7
A Sun. Luke viii, 41-ix

25TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. II Thess. i, 1-11
C Tues. II Thess. i, 10-ii, 3
D Wed. II Thess. ii, 1-12
E Thurs. II Thess. ii, 12-iii, 6
F Fri. II Thess. iii, 6-end
G Sat. Gal. i, 3-11
A Sun. Eph. iv, 1-8
Tone 8. Ressur. Gospel 3

8TH WEEK OF ST LUKE ; 25TH SLAV.

B Mon. Luke xii, 13-16 ; 22-32
C Tues. Luke xii, 42-48
D Wed. Luke xii, 48-xiii
E Thurs. Luke xiii, 1-10
F Fri. Luke xiii, 31-xiv
G Sat. Luke ix, 37-44b
A Sun. Luke x, 25-38

26TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. I Tim. i, 1-8
C Tues. I Tim. i, 8-15
D Wed. I Tim. i, 18-11 ; ii, 8-iii
E Thurs. I Tim. iii, 1-14
F Fri. I Tim. iv, 4-9 ; 16-v
G Sat. Gal. iii, 8-13
A Sun. Eph. v, 9-20
Tone 1. Ressur. Gospel 4

9TH WEEK OF ST LUKE ; 26TH SLAV.

B Mon. Luke xiv, 1-1d ; 12-16
C Tues. Luke xiv, 25-xv
D Wed. Luke xv, 1-11
E Thurs. Luke xvi, 1-10
F Fri. Luke xvi, 15-19, xvii, 1-5
G Sat. Luke ix, 57-x
A Sun. Luke xii, 16-22 ; viii 8b-9

¹ Should this Sunday not fall between these dates, according to the Greek and Melkite usage its Gospel is exchanged with that of the Sunday which falls within those dates.

The weekday Gospels keep their order even when the Sunday ones are switched.

27TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. I Tim. v, 1-11
 C Tues. I Tim. v, 11-22
 D Wed. I Tim. v, 22-vi, 11b
 E Thurs. I Tim. vi, 17-end
 F Fri. II Tim. i, 1-3; 8-ii
 G Sat. Gal. v, 22-vi, 3
 A Sun. Eph. vi, 10-18
 Tone 2. Resurr. Gospel 5

28TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. II Tim. ii, 20-iii
 C Tues. II Tim. iii, 16-iv, 5
 D Wed. II Tim. iv, 9-end
 E Thurs. Tit. i, 5-15
 F Fri. Tit. i, 15-ii, 11
 G Sat. Eph. i, 16-ii
 A Sun. Col. i, 12-19
 Tone 3. Resurr. Gospel 6

29TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Heb. iii, 5-12; 17-19
 C Tues. Heb. iv, 1-14
 D Wed. Heb. v, 11-vi, 9
 E Thurs. Heb. vii, 1-7
 F Fri. Heb. vii, 18-26
 G Sat. Eph. ii, 11-14
 A Sun. Col. iii, 4-12
 Tone 4. Resurr. Gospel 7

30TH WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

- B Mon. Heb. viii, 7-ix
 C Tues. Heb. ix, 8-24
 D Wed. Heb. x, 1-19
 E Thurs. Heb. x, 35-xi, 8
 F Fri. Heb. xi, 8-17
 G Sat. Eph. v, 1-8c
 A Sun. Col. iii, 12-17
 Tone 5. Resurr. Gospel 8

10TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 27TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke xvii, 20-26
 C Tues. Luke xvii, 26-xviii, 1;
 8b-9
 D Wed. Luke xviii, 15-18; 26-31
 E Thurs. Luke xviii, 31-35
 F Fri. Luke xix, 12-29
 G Sat. Luke x, 19-22
 A Sun. Luke xiii, 10-18†

†According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read on the Sunday which falls between 4th and 10th Dec.¹

11TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 28TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke xix, 37-45
 C Tues. Luke xix, 45-xx
 D Wed. Luke xx, 1-9
 E Thurs. Luke xx, 9-19
 F Fri. Luke xx, 19-27
 G Sat. Luke xii, 32-41
 A Sun. Luke xiv, 16-25 and
 Matt. xx, 16b-17†

†According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read on the Sunday which falls between 11th and 17th Dec.¹

12TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 29TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Luke xx, 27-45
 C Tues. Luke xxi, 12-20
 D Wed. Luke xxi, 5-12, 20-25
 E Thurs. Luke xxi, 28b-34
 F Fri. Luke xxi, 37-xxii, 9
 G Sat. Luke xiii, 19-30
 A Sun. Luke xvii, 12-20†

†If this Gospel has not been read before Christmas, it is sometimes read before the Tridion (general Byzantine usage). See introduction c: interpolated weeks.

13TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 30TH SLAV.

- B Mon. Mark viii, 11-22
 C Tues. Mark viii, 22-27
 D Wed. Mark viii, 30-35
 E Thurs. Mark ix, 9-15
 F Fri. Mark ix, 33-42
 G Sat. Luke xiv, 1-12
 A Sun. Luke xviii, 18-28†

†According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read on the Sunday which falls between 24th and 30th Nov.¹

¹ Should this Sunday not fall between these dates, according to the Greek and Melkite usage its Gospel is exchanged with that of the Sunday which falls within those dates.

The weekday Gospels keep their order even when the Sunday ones are switched.

31ST WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. Heb. xi, 17-32
C Tues. Heb. xii, 25-28; xiii, 22-end
D Wed. James i, 1-19
E Thurs. James i, 19-ii
F Fri. James ii, 1-14
G Sat. Col. i, 1-7
A Sun. I Tim. i, 15-18
Tone 6. Resurr. Gospel 9

32ND WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. James ii, 14-iii
C Tues. James iii, 1-11
D Wed. James iii, 11-iv, 7
E Thurs. James iv, 7-v, 10
F Fri. I Peter i, 1-ii, 11
G Sat. I Thess. v, 14-24
A Sun. I Tim. iv, 9-16
Tone 7. Resurr. Gospel 10

33RD WEEK AFTER PENTECOST

B Mon. I Peter ii, 21b-iii, 10
C Tues. I Peter iii, 10-iv
D Wed. I Peter iv, 1-12
E Thurs. I Peter iv, 12-v, 6
F Fri. II Peter i, 1-11
G Sat. II Tim. ii, 11-20

THE PRE-FAST WEEKS OF THE TRIODION PERIOD

The Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee.

A Sun. II Tim. iii, 10-16

34TH EPISTLE WEEK

B Mon. II Peter i, 20-ii, 10
C Tues. II Peter ii, 9-iii
D Wed. II Peter iii, 1-end
E Thurs. I John i, 8-ii, 7
F Fri. I John ii, 7-18
G Sat. I Tim. vi, 11-17

The Sunday of the Prodigal Son

A Sun. I Cor. vi, 12-vii

35TH EPISTLE WEEK

B Mon. I John ii, 18-iii, 9
C Tues. I John iii, 9-22b
D Wed. I John iii, 21-iv, 12
E Thurs. I John iv, 20-v, 1-end
F Fri. II John i, 1-end
G Sat. I Cor. x, 23-27

14TH WEEK OF ST LUKE : 31ST SLAV.

B Mon. Mark ix, 42-x, 2
C Tues. Luke x, 2-13

D Wed. Luke x, 11-17
E Thurs. Luke x, 17-28
F Fri. Luke x, 24b-32c
G Sat. Luke xvi, 10-16
A Sun. Luke xviii, 35-xix†

†According to the Greek and Melkite usage to be read only if this Sunday falls on 1st, 2nd or 3rd Dec.

15TH WEEK OF ST LUKE : 32ND SLAV.

B Mon. Mark x, 46-xi
C Tues. Mark xi, 11-24
D Wed. Mark xi, 22-27
E Thurs. Mark xi, 27-xii
F Fri. Mark xii, 1-13
G Sat. Luke xvii, 3-11
A Sun. Luke xix, 1-11†

†See introduction c: interpolated weeks.

16TH WEEK OF ST LUKE : 33RD SLAV.

B Mon. Mark xiii, 13-18
C Tues. Mark xii, 18-28
D Wed. Mark xii, 28-38
E Thurs. Mark xii, 38-xiii.
F Fri. Mark xiii, 1-9
G Sat. Luke xviii, 2-8b
A Sun. If the Triodion has not yet begun, see introduction c: interpolated weeks.

Luke xviii, 10-15

17TH WEEK OF ST LUKE : 34TH SLAV.

B Mon. Mark xiii, 9-14
C Tues. Mark xiii, 14-24
D Wed. Mark xiii, 24-32
E Thurs. Mark xiii, 31-xiv, 3
F Fri. Mark xiv, 3-10
G Sat. Luke xx, 46-xxi, 5. viii, 8b-9

A Sun. Luke xv, 11-xvi

18TH WEEK OF ST LUKE : 35TH SLAV.

B Mon. Mark xi, 1-12
C Tues. Mark xiv, 10-43
D Wed. Mark xiv, 43-xv, 2
E Thurs. Mark xv, 1-16
F Fri. Mark xv, 20-42
G Sat. Luke xxi, 8-10; 25-28, 33-37

Meat Fast Sunday

A Sun. I Cor. viii, 8-ix, 3

A Sun. Matt. xxv, 31-xxvi

36TH EPISTLE WEEK

B Mon. III John i, 1-end

19TH WEEK OF ST LUKE; 36TH SLAV.

B Mon. Luke xix, 29-41; xxii,

C Tues. Jude i, 1-11

7-40

C Tues. Luke xxii, 39-xxiii, 2

E Thurs. Jude i, 11-end

E Thurs. Luke xxiii, 1-xxiv

G Sat. Rom. xiv, 19-xv; xvi,

G Sat. Matt. vi, 1-14

25-end

Cheese Fast Sunday

A Sun. Rom xiii, 11-xiv, 5

A Sun. Matt. vi, 14-22

d. THE PERIOD OF ST MARK'S GOSPEL

THE GREAT FAST (THE TRIODION OF LENT)

37TH EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. Heb. i, 1-13

1ST WEEK OF ST MARK

Mark, ii, 23-iii, 6

First Sunday in the Great Fast: Sunday of Orthodoxy

A Sun. Heb. xi, 24-27; 32-xii

John i, 44-ii

38TH EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. Heb. iii, 12-17

2ND WEEK OF ST MARK

Mark i, 35-45

Second Sunday in the Great Fast

A Sun. Heb. i, 10-ii, 4

Mark ii, 1-13

39TH EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. Heb. x, 32-38b

3RD WEEK OF ST MARK

Mark ii, 14-18

Third Sunday in the Great Fast: The Adoration of the Holy Cross

A Sun. Heb. iv, 14-v, 7

Mark viii, 43-ix

40TH EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. Heb. vi, 9-13

4TH WEEK OF ST MARK

Mark vii, 31-viii

Fourth Sunday in the Great Fast, and St John

A Sun. Heb. vi, 13-vii

Climacus

Mark ix, 16-31

of St John Climacus

Eph. v, 9-20

Matt. xi, 27-xii

41ST EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. Heb. ix, 24-x

5TH WEEK OF ST MARK

Mark viii, 27-32

Akathistos, ep.

Heb. ix, 1-8

Fifth Sunday in the Great Fast, and St Mary of Egypt

A Sun. Heb. ix, 11-15

Mark x, 32b-46

St Mary of Egypt

Gal. iii, 23-iv, 6

John viii, 3-12

42ND EPISTLE WEEK

G Sat. of Lazarus

THE WEEK OF PSALMS

Heb. xii, 28-xiii, 9

John xi, 1-46

Palm Sunday: Morning Office

A Sun. Phil. iv, 4-10

Matt. xxi, 1-18

John xii, 1-19

The Epistles, Gospels and Tones

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The Holy and Great Week of the Passion of Our Lord

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| On the Holy and Great Monday : Morning Office | Matt. xxi, 18-44 |
| Vespers and Presanctified Liturgy | Matt. xxiv, 3-36 |
| On the Holy and Great Tuesday : Morning Office | Matt. xxii, 15-xxiv |
| Vespers and Presanctified Liturgy | Matt. xxiv, 36-xxvi, 3 |
| On the Holy and Great Wednesday : Morning Office | John xii, 17-xiii |
| Vespers and Presanctified Liturgy | Matt. xxvi, 6-17 |

On the Holy and Great Thursday : Morning Office Luke xxii, 1-40

At the Washing of the Feet : 1st Gospel John xiii, 3-12. 2nd Gospel John xiii, 12-18

At Vespers and St Basil's Liturgy : Ep. I Cor. xi, 23-33. Gospel Matt. xxvi, 1-20 ; John xiii, 3-18 ; Matt. xxvi, 21-40 ; Luke xxii, 43-45 ; Matt. xxvi, 40-xxvii, 1-3

On the Holy and Great Friday :

During the Morning Office the Twelve Gospels of the Holy Passion :

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. John xiii, 31-xviii, 2 | 7. Matt. xxvii, 33-55 |
| 2. John xviii, 1-29 | 8. Luke xxiii, 32-50 |
| 3. Matt. xxvi, 57-xxvii | 9. John xix, 25-38 |
| 4. John xviii, 28-xix, 16b | 10. Mark xv, 43-xvi |
| 5. Matt. xxvii, 3-33 | 11. John xix, 38-xx |
| 6. Mark xv, 16-32b | 12. Matt. xxvii, 62-xxviii |

At the Great or Royal Hours

First Hour Ep. Gal. vi, 14-end

Third Hour Rom. v, 6-11

Sixth Hour Heb. ii, 11-iii

Ninth Hour Heb. x, 19-32

Gospel Matt. xxvii, 1-57

Mark xv, 16-42

Luke xxiii, 32-50

John xix, 23-38

At Vespers Ep. I Cor. i, 18-ii, 3. Gospel Matt. xxvii, 1-39 ; Matt. xxvii, 39-55 ; Luke xxiii, 39-44 ; John xix, 31-38 ; Matt. xxvii, 55-61.

On the Holy and Great Saturday :

Morning Office : Ep. I Cor. v, 6b-9 ; Gal. iii, 13-15. Gospel Matt. xxvii, 62-xxviii.

At Vespers and St Basil's Liturgy : Ep. Rom. vi, 3b-12. Gospel Matt. xxviii, 1-end.

(To be Continued.)

IRMGARD M. DE VRIES, OBL., O.S.B.
'Vita et Pax'—Schotenhof, Antwerp.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

RUSSIA AND THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE
OF ANTIOCH

To the Editor of *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*
St Augustine's Abbey,
Ramsgate, Great Britain

DEAR SIR,

May I make some comment on the article, 'Russia and the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch', in *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, No. 8, 1952.

There are several mistakes in the 'Comment of the Orthodox Priest' which I think should be corrected.

1. Russian properties in Palestine before World War I belonged either to the 'Imperial Society of Palestine' or to the 'Russian Religious Mission in Jerusalem'. That Mission before 1920 was under jurisdiction of the Synod of the Church of Russia. After World War II and even until now the Mission was under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church outside of Russia, whose headquarters before World War II were in Yugoslavia and (Metropolitan Anastassy-President) are actually in New York. Only the properties of the Mission located in Israel were confiscated and given to the Soviets after the head of the Mission Archimandrite Antony was forced to leave for Jordan in 1948. A small group of clergymen were then sent to Jerusalem from Moscow and took possession of the church buildings in Israel.
2. When the Patriarch Alexius arrived to Palestine in 1946 he was ignored by the clergy of the Russian Religious Mission. He had to abstain from visiting Russian Monasteries which refused to receive him without a direct order from the head of the Russian Church in exile, the Metropolitan Anastassy.
3. The Russian Society of Palestine continues to exist (the Board of Directors is in Paris). That Society never did and could not exist in Soviet Russia. Therefore, the Palestine Society never 'transformed itself into a Russian Archaeological Society' but the properties of the

Palestinian Society in Israel were claimed, to the best of my knowledge, by a newly-founded agency under the Moscow Academy of Science. It seems that these properties are now under an administration of the Israel Government.

4. One more remark. When we read that the Russian compound and other properties of the Mission are given to the Moscow Church, we must never forget that the Church in Russia enjoys no rights of ownership over any property. The churches and all the objects in them were confiscated and now belong to the Soviet Government. The Church of Patriarch Alexius has some of the churches only under its administration, not under its ownership. It is doubtful that the Moscow Church can gain a right of ownership abroad of which it is deprived in its own country. Therefore, actually it is the Soviet Government and not the Church who took possession of the Orthodox Mission properties in Israel.

Very truly yours,

ARCHPRIEST GEORGE GRABBE.

May 28th, 1953

312 West 77th Street, New York 24, N.Y.

We print the above letter of Father Grabbe as we understand that he has been secretary to Metropolitan Anastassy, and so is well qualified to deal with this matter from the point of view of that jurisdiction. On the other hand the Orthodox priest who made the comments in the *E.C.Q.*, Vol. IX, No. 8, is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople not that of Moscow. He is also in constant touch with Palestine and Jordan and so was well qualified to write the comments referred to. We do not want a controversy to arise out of this, it is sufficient that the two statements have been expressed.—THE EDITOR.

DOCUMENTATION

LAW ON RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

(Belgrade).—The Federal Executive Council has approved the revised draft of the law regulating the status of religious communities in Yugoslavia. In their final form the articles read as follows :—

Article 1 states that 'freedom of conscience and freedom of religious beliefs are guaranteed to citizens of the Federal Peoples Republic' and that 'religious belief is the private affair of the citizen'.

Article 2.—'Citizens can found religious communities whose activities are not in contradiction to the constitution and laws. All religions enjoy equal rights and all religious communities have the same legal status . . .

Article 4.—'The school is separated from the Church. Religious instruction (catechism) in churches, temples, or in other places which have been designated for that, is free. Religious communities can freely found separate religious schools (incomplete secondary, secondary and higher schools) for the training of priests and can freely manage those schools.

Article 5.—'The misuse of religious functions, religious instruction, religious publications, religious rites and other expressions of religious sentiments for political purposes is forbidden. The provocation or inciting of religious intolerance, hatred or dissension is forbidden. Interference with religious meetings, religious instruction, religious rites or other expressions of religious sentiments is forbidden.

Article 6.—'No one can be forced in any way to become a member of a religious society, to remain a member of such a society or to withdraw from it . . . No one can forbid citizens to participate in religious rites and in other expressions of religious sentiments. No one can force a member of a religious community not to use rights which belong to him as a citizen according to the constitution and law.

Article 7.—'Citizens cannot be limited in the rights which belong to them by law because of their religious convictions, their belonging to a religious belief or a religious community . . . Belonging to a religion or profession of a religion does not relieve anyone from general civil, military or other duties which citizens must perform in accordance with the law . . .

Article 11.—'The Federal Executive Council and the Republican executive councils can give material aid to religious communities . . . Religious communities themselves control the allotted material means, but if the aid is given for a specific purpose, the religious communities can be requested to submit a report on the use of the allotted means.

Article 12.—' . . . The collection of contributions for religious purposes is free in churches, temples and other places which are designated for that purpose. Outside of these places contributions can be collected only with the approval of the people's committee of the district or town.

'Priests can receive payment in money or in any other customary manner for the performance of religious rites which they carry out at the request of individuals, regardless of whether the religious rite is carried out in churches, temples, homes of the faithful or in some other places where the rite is ordinarily carried out.

Article 13.—'Religious rites . . . can be freely performed in churches, temples and other public places which religious communities have designated for the performance of religious rites . . .

Article 15.—'Marriage according to religious rites can be performed only after the conclusion of marriage before an authorized state agency and under the condition that both persons concerned want the marriage . . .

Article 18.—'Religious communities themselves manage schools for the training of priests, freely determine the programme and plan of instruction and freely appoint instructors. The state executes only general supervision over the work of religious schools.

Article 19.—'Students of regular schools cannot attend religious instruction (catechism) during school hours. For attendance at religious instruction the approval of both parents or guardians and the consent of the minor are necessary. Schools for the training of priests can be attended only by persons who have finished obligatory elementary schooling . . .'

[E.P.S. GENEVA.]

Whether this is satisfactory or not depends on how and in what spirit it is put into practice.

Negotiations with the Catholic Church have broken down.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks. Though the line of Byzantine Emperors came to an end the patriarchs of New Rome remained through many a turbulent time the rallying point of the Orthodox Church, and the œcumenical patriarch still retains his position of *primus inter pares*.

It is, therefore, fitting to quote some verses of the *Akathistos* hymn to the most glorious Lady Mother of God and Virgin Mary, written on the occasion of the deliverance of Constantinople from the barbarians in A.D. 626.

'To thee, unconquered Queen, I thy city from danger freed an offering of thanks inscribe. O Forth-bringer of God! Yet for thy unconquerable might free me from all hurt that I may sing to thee!

Hail! Bride unwedded.'

As we go to press the death of Mar Ivanios has just been announced. In our next issue we will speak of this great archbishop. R.I.P.

Tito and the Catholic Church by Michael Derrick. Pp. 36. (The Sword of the Spirit). 6d.

Mr Derrick, on the front page of this pamphlet, acknowledges his indebtedness to a series of articles in *The Tablet* (see Editorial). The pamphlet indeed mainly consists of giving these articles to the public in a convenient form. This takes up twenty pages while the other sixteen pages contain a number of documents—which are given in seven appendices. Thus the whole gives a concise and important answer to questions raised in the secular and also religious press concerning Cardinal Stepinac and Marshal Tito, as well as concerning the treatment of Orthodox Serbs by the Catholic Croats.

E.C.Q. REPRINTS

The last reprint was Mr Codrington's *Studies of the Syrian Liturgies*. 5s. This has been well reviewed.

For years we have received letters asking for the articles of Father Basil Krivoshein on *The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas*. We have at last been able to prepare these articles for a reprint. There will only be a limited number of copies printed. We would be pleased if those readers who would like this reprint will let us know. This will give us some guide as to price we can charge. We would like to keep this down to 5s. a copy, this will be our aim.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Theology. A monthly review. 1s. per copy.

Theology, which continues to cover a wide field—historical, biblical, theological, with a strong pastoral note—remains at the amazingly low price of 1s., and draws its contributors from a wide range of schools of thought (not even exclusively Anglican). 1952 saw the end of the interesting 'Great Preachers' series which has now been replaced by 'Great Pastors' (Fr Bouyer has contributed to both—Newman and St Philip Neri). The American Letter is always interesting and informative.

Christian News-Letter. Quarterly. 10s. 6d. per annum.

The bulletin of the Christian Frontier Council has once more changed its form and, under its new editor (one time British Press Attaché in Russia and founder of *British Ally*, the British journal in war-time Moscow) it has the appearance of a full blown review (47 pp.). It maintains the actuality and acuteness of comment of its predecessors.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Mirror to Russia. Lady Kelly. Pp. 248. 21s.

Picture Book of Russia. Lady Kelly. (Country Life Ltd, 1952) 16s.

Lady Kelly's two books are a sheer delight. *Mirror to Russia* tells of her travels in Russia during 1949-51, when, as wife of the British Ambassador, she obtained very special privileges for visiting the inaccessible; and *Picture Book of Russia* is a magnificent collection of photographs taken during the same period.

Now that the ban on diplomats' travel has been lifted, many of the places described by Lady Kelly are no longer as inaccessible as they were, but there will certainly be no more charming and entertaining account of them given to us. Holy Russia predominates, inevitably, but there are also charming accounts of the relics of the Russia of Tolstoy, of Tschaikovsky, of Catherine and Peter the Great, and a most illuminating report on an aspect of modern Russia—the cult of Stalin at his birthplace.

A very considerable amount of information is set down, linked with the most delightful photographs and a power of description which creates an immediate confidence in the author's judgement.

For those of us who have little hope of visiting Russia these books are an enchanting substitute.

The printing is all that one would expect of 'Country Life'. One small query, does *deusus*=second tier? (p. 70).

DOM EDMUND M. JONES.

L'Angoisse de l'Unité. G. Tavad. Paper, pp. 69 (Bonne Press, 1952). 140 French francs.

'Popular' books on the problem of unity are still very few in number—particularly so in English-speaking countries. Fr Tavad's little book is an excellent example of the sort of thing which needs to appear more and more. A selection of texts from the Fathers and from spiritual writers under the headings Contrition, Meditation, Demande, Imitation and Contemplation, are well calculated to present the fundamental theme of *l'angoisse de l'unité* to the praying soul. The texts come from such varied sources as St Bonaventure, John Donne, Newman, St Paul, St Cyprian, Bessarion, Pius IX, Metrophanus of Smyrna, among others, and include a Way of the Cross for Unity.

A book which can be warmly recommended.

E.M.J.

Manuel Byzantino-Greco-Slave à l'usage des fidèles de rite latin. Geneva. Pp. 84, Paper. no price.

This pocket size edition of the liturgy gives in parallel columns the Slavonic and Greek texts in phonetic spelling and a French translation. The secret prayers are given in French only and, unfortunately, the prayers of the prothesis are not given at all.

Experience shows that the casual visitor at a Byzantine liturgy trying both to watch the ceremonies and to follow the text is apt to find himself often two pages behind. The presence of the phonetic texts is obviously of great assistance in identifying the moment. The insertion of explanatory notes in the text itself must on the other hand prove a distraction and the lack of a clear division between secret and

non-secret prayers in the layout of the page will certainly reduce the ease with which the booklet may be used.

The rubric on p. 56 at the Eleon irinis 'on ouvre l'iconostase' is by no means general in the rite.

Freedom and the Tragic Life by Vyacheslav Ivanov. Pp. 166 (The Harvill Press) 18s.

This study of the religious ideas to be found in the novels of Dostoevsky is almost as exciting as one of the novels. Dostoevsky is shown to be a tragic artist; he is compared to the Greek tragedians. His philosophy is tragic because it insists that man is not what he is. 'In man's heart, God and Devil meet in single combat.' Man suffers an inner antagonism. He bears within himself his own autonomous law, and the key to his tragic tangle is found in the realm of metaphysics. This realm is thought by the world to be one of fantasy, but Dostoevsky claims it as a 'higher reality'. He says: 'Whilst keeping faith with realism (in art), to find man in man! People call me a psychologist. This is inaccurate. I am a realist in the higher sense: that is to say, I indicate all the depths of the human soul.' Dostoevsky's realism is his faith. Ivanov points out that true love is the only real cognition, because it implies absolute faith in the reality of the beloved. This cognition Dostoevsky arrives at through 'proniknovenie', or spiritual insight. His stories take place on three levels. The uppermost is the metaphysical. Below is displayed 'the labyrinthine diversity of life, the cunning of change, the spiritual oscillations, errors, masqueradings, illusions and self-deceptions' from which is caught the decisive, intelligible act of will. (Faith, says Ivanov memorably, is the good health of the will.) This act of the will is a choice between Being—that is being in God—or for nothingness—that is flight from God into not-Being. This is the metaphysical reality that lies behind and explains all the visible actions of men. And it is here that Dostoevsky provides his greatest illumination, namely that 'each individual man is the whole of mankind, all mankind is one man, one Adam'.

The human race is one, each individual shares in the guilt and sins of others, and also in the fruits of a sanctity beyond their knowledge.

Ivanov studies this philosophy as it is worked out in Dostoevsky's great novels, more especially in the *Possessed* which he rightly calls a work of prophecy, and in *The Brothers*

Karamozov. This exegesis is full of profound insights. His remarks on Dostoevsky's use of nature are very happy. 'Dostoevsky is no idle spectator of nature, but calls attention to her eternal and immutable symbolism only at significant and solemn moments' (e.g. in the *Possessed*, a park on an autumn night rears itself chaotically over the murdered Shatov). Ivanov refers to 'the Christian mystery of the eternal liturgy of Nature.' Ivanov's explanation of the significance of the Ilyusha brotherhood as a parable of the reconciliation of all men is most convincing.

Indeed this whole study clearly proceeds from the mind of a man completely at home in the great welter of Dostoevsky's novels, perceiving without any hesitation the deep hold on the author's thought of Christian insights. Dostoevsky is often classed with the agnostics, the sceptics and those who hold aloof, but Ivanov here shows with the utmost clarity the religious structure of Dostoevsky's thought and the Christian symbolism he employs throughout his work, sometimes, as in the *Possessed*, failing to achieve the complete working out of his ideas, sometimes, as in *Brothers Karamozov*, achieving perfect harmony.

Dostoevsky had an unshakeable faith in the ordinary people. He assures us that the Russian people 'have a characteristic yearning for the countenance of Christ', and again he writes 'from that valiant hero, the people, at the last moment will leap all that is false; his heart will present itself with all its terrible strength of conviction—he will come to himself and begin the work of God'.

In such passages is observed the true vision of the great artist without which the people will perish.

JOHN BATE.

The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar by Nicolas Berdyaev.

Translated by Donald A. Lowrie. Pp. 182 (London, Victor Gollancz) 1955.

It was upon this book, in all probability, that Berdyaev was actually at work when death suddenly came to him at his desk, in March 1948. According to a publisher's foreword to the Russian edition (here included), 'The manuscript was in such a state as to require the work of four different persons intimately associated with Berdyaev to reduce it to a script which could be presented to the printer'. The work bears, indeed, many marks of incompleteness, not so much in

general plan as in the inadequate development of certain parts. In a broad sense, it is a re-statement of its author's thought on many themes already familiar to us in previous works; but here, in those chapters at least which appear to have reached a more or less definitive form, the exposition of that thought—always terse and forceful—attains in many places to an even greater simplicity and trenchancy. This is particularly noticeable in the introductory section: 'The Struggle for Truth', where the terseness, in places, almost approaches ellipsis. (One feels, however, that the English translation—perhaps a little 'flat', and at times grammatically careless—might have driven some of the more challenging statements yet more sharply home.) The final sentence of this section may be cited here; it is characteristic of its author in its rejection of the idea that any vital truth can be embodied once for all in a verbal formula, perfect and all-sufficient to all men in all times and places: 'the one Truth . . . is revealed only to a consciousness which is constantly deepened and widened: that is *to consciousness growing in the spiritual*. Our given world is a partial world, as a day of our life is partial and incomplete': [p. 33; reviewer's italics]. For Berdyaev, the application and significance of the Truth is always progressively commensurable with the growth of the recipient's capacity for it. Truth itself is not conceived as changing, but as undergoing a vital increase and intensification in the process, and needing, thus, an ever renewed and more adequate re-statement.

Except for the enhanced force and pungency above-mentioned, the first half-dozen chapters contain little that is new; the headings may be summarized: i, 'Man and God—Spirituality'; ii, 'Man and the Cosmos—Technics'; iii, 'Man and Society—Socialism'; iv, 'Man and Cæsar—Authority'; v, 'Of the Hierarchy of Values, Ends and Means'; vi, 'The Contradictions of Freedom'; vii, 'Community—Collectivity—*Sobornost*'. Chapter viii, however, may well be deemed by many readers (though not by this one!) the most important in the book. Entitled 'The Contradictions in Marxism', it is a most destructive exposure of the basic inconsistencies and insufficiencies of this 'creed'—quasi-religious as he claims it to be in the consciousness of its adherents. (Should there still remain among certain Catholics any sort of doubt about Berdyaev's real attitude towards the official philosophy of Soviet Russia, these pages alone ought finally to dispose of it). This is by much the longest and most fully developed

chapter in the book. Chapter ix, 'Nationalism and the Unity of Mankind', deals more briefly with the power of nationalisms to enslave the human personality through the 'collective unconscious', by means of their myth-producing tendencies.

There is a very brief tenth chapter on 'The New Man, the Eternal Man', which might well have received fuller treatment had the work reached its final form. Here, too, can be seen the dynamic character of Berdyaev's conception of man—even, in a sense, as an expanding and developing capacity for the apprehension of Truth (or, if one will, for reception of, and possession by, the Divine). 'The eternal man, oriented toward eternity and infinity is at once the eternally new man and an eternal and limitless purpose. *The eternal man is not something given once for all: he is not to be comprehended statically.* The truly new man is a realization of the eternal man, bearing in himself the image and likeness of God': [p. 170; reviewer's italics].

The eleventh and final chapter bears the clearest evidence of the work's premature conclusion; it is certainly the most incompletely developed of all, and represents in all likelihood no more than the notes and leading lines for what would have been three separate chapters in the finished book. It is here, above all, that the sudden cessation of the formative impulse is most acutely realized. Divided, under three general headings ('The Tragedy of Human Existence: Utopia: The Sphere of the Mystic') into three short sections, everything indicates a mere summary of rough notes awaiting development towards a final form. There are even one or two hasty and inaccurate generalizations, obviously jotted down in the preliminary scheming out of the matter, which would most likely have disappeared from the final script. Thus, in the first of the sections—on the general theme of which Berdyaev's thought is always at its most memorable and significant—after a brief initial exposure of the pretensions of Marxism to abolish the basic 'tragedy' by rationalizing existence, he goes on (p. 173): 'It may even be affirmed that the tragedy of human life in a pure form has never been known' (3). 'The tragic conflicts of the past arose from poverty, the insecurity of life, from class or caste prejudices' (1) . . . 'When a lover cannot have the one he loves because they belong to different classes . . . or the parents put inescapable obstacles in the way, this may be very tragic, but it is not the expression of the inner tragedy of human life, in its pure form' (4). 'The tragic conflicts of Antigone and Creon were related

to the social order and to social prejudices, just as were the tragic situations of Romeo and Juliet, or the drama of Tristan and Isolde' (2). 'Pure inner tragedy appears when there is an inevitable tragism deriving from the nature of love itself, apart from the social milieu in which the lovers are called to live' (5). This series of citations (numbered here according to the order in which they appear on the page, but re-arranged to convey the logical sequence of the thought) is highly interesting for the insight it gives into the creative process *in actu*. It is a common experience that the matter, when in its 'molten' state, is very often presented to the mind in an almost directly inverse order. But the inclusion of the case of Tristan and Isolde in the same category with that of Romeo and Juliet would surely not have passed into the final proofs. No one was better qualified than Berdyaev to realize that the tragedy of Tristan and Isolde belongs, itself, precisely to that basic inner tragism which is inherent in the human condition, with which he is actually dealing here, and of which indeed, in its full and proper understanding, it is a classic example. Similarly (on p. 181): 'We may distinguish three types of mysticism, in the past: the mysticism of individual souls' approach [*sic.*] to God. This is the most churchly form. Second, gnostic mysticism . . . Third . . . prophetic and messianic mysticism . . .' But, surely, the 'most churchly form' of mysticism is to be found rather in the corporate devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, or in the doctrine of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, than in personal religion. These are fair examples of the fluid state of the matter in the final chapter as it now appears; and they are sufficient to illustrate the manner (inevitable, alas! under the circumstances) in which the book seems to hasten to a somewhat thin and inadequate conclusion. That the author's mind was still working at full pressure, and in all expectation, is indicated by the hope expressed (p. 179): 'to devote a separate book', 'to the final sphere of the mystic'. We are by so much the poorer, that this hope will never now be realized.

That these last pages called for inclusion, however, is certain; for the reader sufficiently familiar with the movement of Berdyaev's thought through the works of the last twenty years will have little difficulty in gaining from them, even as they stand, a fairly complete impression of the book's final conclusion as that great Christian spirit would himself have desired to leave it, had the time remained to him. Berdyaev's 'message to our times' was of such nature and quality that it

cannot be too often repeated and re-stated ; and the publication of this, its final re-statement of all, is more than justified : it is something for which we should be grateful.

JOHN TRINICK.

The Dominion of Christ by Rev. L. S. Thornton, C.R., D.D.
Pp. xii, 207 (Dacre Press) 25s.

'Integration', a few years ago, became a battle cry for many workers and spiritual directors of Catholic Action: the social apostolate, the liturgical apostolate, the exercise of religious virtues and the work of confraternities, all these needed 'integrating' to save dissipation of energy. After reading Dr Thornton's *Dominion of Christ* one feels a desire to raise the same banner for the integration of theological study. The author, who accepts the full Catholic position of the incarnation, redemption and the necessary sacramental rôle of the Church in the salvation of mankind elaborates these themes with deep insight and abundant Scriptural scholarship. He sees in the New Testament and the Old parallels which he works out with considerable ingenuity: Christ the second Adam and creation; the 'restoration' theme of Exodus and Jeremias compared with the Messianic 'restoration' of the Kingdom of God; the connection between the ideas of 'restoration' and return—repentance and restored inheritance in both dispensations.

This leads us to consideration of the Kingdom of Christ and the characteristic of spiritual childhood, and the relation between the ideas of sonship and service, child and servant, which is required by both gospels and the didactic writings of the New Testament. This naturally leads us to the necessity of sacrifice, of conflict and victory in the scheme of salvation; of death and resurrection, of voluntary lowliness and irresistible triumph; of darkness overcome by light. All finally are fulfilled in Christ, the God made man, in whom all types are fulfilled, all antitheses reconciled, all mysteries dissolve into one; finally and most fully symbolized in the Transfiguration—finally and completely realized in the Crucifixion and Resurrection.

In the course of his thesis, Dr Thornton opens many fertile by-paths which can be followed only by the competent Scripture scholar: to the non-specialist the gossamer webs of his reasonings seem at times to be very finely spun, ready

to disintegrate at a touch, but they provide always illumination to the main theme and are often most fertile as matter for mental prayer. This is theology for the theologian.

DOM H. D. THOMAS RIGBY.

The New Eve by J. H. Newman. Pp. 96 (Newman Bookshop, Oxford) 3s.

Mr Radcliffe tells us in the introduction 'that many books have been written lately about our Lady. Generally they speak of devotion to her . . . But this one is slightly different. It deals with what Catholics believe about her, for it is essential to believe, rightly if our devotion is to be worthy of her.'

This book then gives us a collection from the writings of Cardinal Newman concerning belief about and devotion to our Lady. One could hardly turn to a better English writer on the subject since he is steeped in the teaching of the Fathers of the Church and knows the difficulties of Protestants in understanding the Catholic mind. It makes superb reading and it covers the whole ground of the mystery of Mary.

B.W.

BOOKS RECEIVED

George Allen & Unwin : *Plotinus*, A. H. Armstrong.

Cambridge University Press : *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II. S. Runciman.

Longmans, Green & Co. : *Spiritual Authority in the Church of England*, Canon E. Rich ; *Ancient Christian Writers* : Vol. XVI, *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*, St Irenaeus, Vol. XVII, *Works of St Patrick*.

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